

Message Text

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FM AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 6075

AMEMBASSY LONDON NIACT IMMEDIATE

INFO USMISSION USUN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL DURBAN

AMCONSUL CAPETOWN

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 5 JOHANNESBURG 1286

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

LONDON FOR VICE PRESIDENT'S PARTY

DEPT PLEASE PASS TO USIA/IPS

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (YOUNG, ANDREW)

SUBJ: AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S ADDRESS TO SOUTH AFRICAN BUSINESSMEN

1. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S ADDRESS AS
DELIVERED TO SOUTH AFRICAN BUSINESSMEN, JOHANNESBURG, MAY 21, 1977.

2. QUOTE. THANKS VERY MUCH MR OPPENHEIMER AND TO ALL OF THE
CITIZENS OF SOUTH AFRICA WHO HAVE TAKEN TIME FROM YOUR BUSY
WEEKEND SCHEDULES TO SPEND AN EVENING TALKING ABOUT THE
FUTURE.

3. I'M CONCERNED ABOUT THE FUTURE AND I HAVE A PROBLEM IN THAT
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MY CONCERN IS MANY FACETED. I'M CONCERNED AS AN AMBASSADOR
BECAUSE I FACE PROBLEMS ALMOST DAILY PERTAINING TO THE
POLITICS OF YOUR COUNTRY AS IT IMPACTS UPON THE POLITICS OF
AFRICA AND OF THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM. I'M CONCERNED ALSO
AS AN AMERICAN POLITICIAN BECAUSE OUR ASSOCIATIONS WITH SOUTH
AFRICA IMPACT VERY STRONGLY UPON BOTH OUR DOMESTIC AND OUR
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS.

4. BUT I COME TONIGHT, I THINK, NEITHER AS AN AMBASSADOR OR AS A POLITICIAN BUT I THINK ESSENTIALLY AS A PREACHER BECAUSE I SEE THE SITUATION HERE AS A SITUATION IN WHICH IN SPITE OF ALL THAT IS WRONG, IN SPITE OF THE ENORMOUS DIFFICULTIES, IN SPITE OF, IN FACT, THE SIN AND THE INJUSTICE THAT ENGULFS US, THAT THERE IS A TREMENDOUS NEED FOR HOPE AND THAT THERE IS A LONGING TO FIND A WAY OUT OF THE SITUATION IN WHICH WE FIND OURSELVES. I THINK THERE ARE SOME ASPECTS OF THE SITUATION IN WHICH I GREW UP, AN INTENSELY RACIAL SITUATION, IN SOUTHERN LOUISIANA IN THE UNITED STATES THAT MAY HAVE SOME RELEVANCE TO YOUR SITUATION BUT I LEAVE THAT FOR YOU TO DECIDE. BUT AS WE NOW LOOK AT THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AS THE CHAMPION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AROUND THE WORLD, IT WAS NOT SO LONG AGO THAT IT WAS NO SO. AND THAT WE TOO HAVE A HERITAGE OF SHAME WHICH IN MANY RESPECTS SURPASSES YOURS.

5. ABOUT THREE YEARS AGO I WAS DOWN HERE WITH ARTHUR ASHE AND OWEN WILLIAMS AND OTHERS FOR YOUR TENNIS CHAMPIONSHIP. AND I WENT DOWN TO KIMBERLY TO VISIT ROBERT SOBUKWE, AND HE WAS NOT LONG OUT OF YOUR PRISONS, AND THE THING THAT AMAZED ME WAS THAT THERE WASN'T A TRACE OF BITTERNESS IN THIS MAN. AND AFTER ABOUT AN HOUR'S CONVERSATION I SAID "LOOK, HOW CAN YOU LIVE THROUGH WHAT YOU'VE BEEN THROUGH AND STILL GIVE A SENSITIVE ANALYSIS OF THE PEOPLE WHO PUT YOU THROUGH IT?" AND HE SAID, "WELL, IT'S BECAUSE I KNOW THAT WE WILL PREVAIL." HE SAID, "I WAS READING ABOUT YOUR COUNTRY AND I READ UNCLE TOM'S CABIN, A STORY OF OUR ENSLAVEMENT AS BLACKS IN AMERICA. AND I DECIDED THAT IF YOU CHAPS (AS HE SAID) COULD LIVE THROUGH THAT AND

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COME TO WHERE YOU HAVE NOW COME, THAT THERE'S NO QUESTION THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO OVERCOME IN SOUTH AFRICA AS WELL.

6. SO LAST DECEMBER WHEN I WAS BACK I BROUGHT HIM A COPY OF ROOTS WHICH IS SORT OF A SECOND INSTALLMENT OF UNCLE TOM'S CABIN, THE SUFFERING SINCE SLAVERY, AND THEIR SUFFERINGS THAT YOU MIGHT FIND EASIER TO READ BECAUSE IT HAPPENED TO US. I COULD NEVER READ VERY MUCH ABOUT OUR OWN SYSTEM OF ENSLAVEMENT, I GOT TOO EMOTIONAL AND TOO INVOLVED. BUT I COULD READ ABOUT WHAT HAPPENED TO JEWS IN EUROPE, AND I COULD READ ABOUT THE OPPRESSION OF BLACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA, BUT I COULDN'T READ ABOUT MY OWN SITUATION. SO MAYBE YOU CAN READ ABOUT OURS AND GAIN SOME INSIGHTS.

7. BUT OUT OF THAT CONTEXT I COME TO SHARE WITH YOU A HOPE IN SPITE OF NOT FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, BUT FOR YOU IN SOUTH AFRICA. I GET TIRED OF HEARING SOUTH AFRICANS COME TO ME SAYING WE'RE PREPARED TO FIGHT TO THE DEATH BECAUSE I'M NOT INTERESTED IN ANYBODY DYING. I'M INTERESTED IN FINDING A

WAY FOR SOUTH AFRICANS TO LIVE TOGETHER AS BROTHERS AND LIVE WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD AS BROTHERS. AND I THINK AS BROTHERS IN A WORLD COMMUNITY, THE NATION OF SOUTH AFRICA HAS A TREMENDOUS AMOUNT TO CONTRIBUTE. AND OUT OF MY EXPERIENCES I'VE COME TO THINK OF THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY AS IN MANY RESPECTS BEING THE KEY TO THAT HOPE.

8. I HEAR A LOT OF TALK ABOUT REVOLUTION AROUND THE WORLD. THERE ARE MANY, MANY IDEALOGUES THAT PROMISE A TRANSFER OF POWER FROM ONE GROUP TO ANOTHER, AND YET AS I HAVE TRAVELED AROUND THIS WORLD THE PLACES WHERE I SEE THE HUNGRY BEING FED, THE PLACES WHERE I SEE THE NAKED BEING CLOTHED, THE PLACES WHERE I SEE THE SICK BEING HEALED ARE PLACES WHERE THERE HAPPENS TO BE FREE MARKET SYSTEM. WHERE THERE'S VERY LITTLE SAID ABOUT REVOLUTION AND WHERE THERE'S NO IDEALOFY AT ALL OF CHANGE. AND YET, IN FACT, IN THOSE FREE MARKET COUNTRIES MORE SOCIAL CHANGE, MORE REVOLUTION IS IN FACT TAKING PLACE. AND UNCLASSIFIED

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IT'S GOING ON VERY UNCONSCIOUSLY. AND WHAT I CONTEND IS THAT THERE CAN BE A CONSCIOUS CONTRIBUTION TO DEVELOPMENT MADE BY THE TECHNOLOGY AND THE MARKET SYSTEM WHICH IS DEVELOPED IN THE WEST. BUT THAT CAN ONLY BE DONE AS WE TAKE A GOOD HARD LOOK AT THAT SYSTEM AND SEE WHAT IT IS IN FACT THAT MAKES IT WORK.

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9. I INEVITABLY DRAW UPON MY EXPERIENCES IN THE SOUTH AND YOU CAN DO WITH THEM WHAT YOU WILL. I'M NOT TRYING TO GIVE ADVICE TO ANYBODY FROM HERE, BLACK OR WHITE. I'M MERELY SAYING THIS IS A POSSIBILITY AMONGST MANY POSSIBILITIES. AND YOU DECIDE, BUT DON' EVER GIVE UP. DON'T EVER SAY THAT THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY; DON'T EVER SAY THAT THERE IS NOTHING IN WHICH WE CAN HOPE FOR; DON'T EVER SAY THAT WE MUST PREPARE TO FIGHT TO THE DEATH. LOOK INSTEAD TO PATHS THROUGH WHICH YOU MIGHT LIVE AND PROSPER IN HAPPINESS TOGETHER.

10. THERE'S A FUNNY THING ABOUT CAPITALISM, AND I ALMOST HATE TO CALL IT THAT. BECAUSE IT'S NOT WHAT THE SOCIOLOGISTS WRITE ABOUT IT, OR WHAT THEY USED TO WRITE ABOUT AS CAPITALISM IN THE 19TH CENTURY. SOMETHING HAPPENS TO CAPITALISM WHEN THE POOR RISE UP. THE SYSTEM THAT WE ENJOY IN THE UNITED STATES IS A SYSTEM BORN OF STRUGGLE. YES, IT'S ALSO A SYSTEM WHICH WAS BUILT ON THE INHUMANITY OF HUMAN SLAVERY. BUT SOMEHOW THOSE VERY SLAVES WHICH AT ONE POINT IN OUR HISTORY CREATED THE CHEAP LABOR FORCE WHICH ENABLED THAT SYSTEM TO TAKE OFF, UNCLASSIFIED

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AND THEREBY MADE INDUSTRIALIZATION POSSIBLE. THOSE SAME SLAVES AND THEIR CHILDREN'S CHILDREN CAME BACK AGAIN IN THE 50'S AND 60'S AND HUMANIZED THAT SYSTEM.

11. IT WAS OUT OF THE STRUGGLE OF OUR SO CALLED CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, OUT OF THE DEMANDS OF BLACK AMERICA THAT WHITE AMERICA BECAME SOMEWHAT FREE. FREDERICK DOUGLAS, ONE OF OUR SLAVE ORATORS AND PHILOSOPHERS SAID ALMOST A HUNDRED YEARS AGO THAT THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IN AMERICA IS THE STRUGGLE TO SAVE BLACK MEN'S BODY AND WHITE MEN'S SOULS. MARTIN LUTHER KING IN 1955 ADOPTED AS HIS SLOGAN AND MOTTO FOR HIS LIBERATION MOVEMENT, "TO REDEEM THE SOUL OF AMERICA." SOWETO MAY WELL PROVIDE THE MEANS OF REDEMPTION FOR THE SOUL OF SOUTH AFRICA, AND WITH IT THE SOUL OF THE SYSTEM MINUS APARTHEID. BUT THIS CHANGE WAS NOT SOMETHING THAT CAME ABOUT VERY EASY. IT WAS SOMETHING THAT WAS WROUGHT OF STRUGGLE AND SUFFERING. BUT EVEN IN THE SUFFERING THERE WAS BORN A CRISIS FROM WHICH GREW A HOPE, AND OUT OF THAT HOPE CHANGE WAS PRODUCED. AND IT WAS CHANGE THAT CAME ABOUT IN LESS THAN A GENERATION.

12. TWELVE YEARS AGO IT WAS VERY DIFFICULT AND ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE FOR BLACK PEOPLE IN THE SOUTH TO EVEN VOTE. IN 1976 IT WAS BLACK VOTERS ESSENTIALLY THAT ELECTED JIMMY CARTER PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. IT WAS AS LATE AS

1969 THAT I WAS IN JAIL IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA. AND IN 1972
I BECAME THE CONGRESSMAN FROM THE SAME DISTRICT. A DISTRICT
WHICH INCIDENTALLY WAS 62 PERCENT WHITE. HOW WE ACHIEVED THAT KIND
OF MIRACULOUS CHANGE IS BEYOND ME. BUT AT NO POINT IN 1965
WHEN WE WERE MARCHING FROM SELMA TO MONTGOMERY AND BEING TEAR
GASSED AND BRUTALIZED AND KILLED BY OUR POLICE FORCE DID I
EVER ANTICIPATE THAT I WOULD EVER BE ELECTED TO THE CONGRESS
OF THE UNITED STATES, MUCH LESS BE AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED
NATIONS.

13. AND YET IT ALL HAPPENED. AND BECAUSE SO MUCH HAPPENED
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TO US SO FAST, AND SO GOOD, I GUESS I TEND TO BE IDEALISTIC
TO THE POINT OF BEING NAIVE. I DON'T CARE WHAT IS, I DON'T
CARE WHAT HAS BEEN, ALL I'M CONCERNED ABOUT IN LIFE IS WHAT
CAN BE. AND I SEE IN THE ECONOMIC POWER THE ECONOMIC
POTENTIAL OF THIS NATION SOMETHING THAT CAN BE, AND THE
GOVERNMENT DOESN'T HAVE A THING TO DO WITH IT. THERE'S
NOTHING THEY CAN DO TO HELP IT, AND THERE'S NOTHING THEY
CAN DO TO STOP IT. IT'S ALMOST IRRELEVANT.

14. FOR WHEN IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA, FIVE BANKS DECIDED THAT
IT WAS BAD FOR BUSINESS TO HAVE RACIAL TURMOIL, RACIAL
TURMOIL CEASED. BECAUSE THOSE FIVE BANKS CONTROLLED THE
LOANS THAT WENT TO ALL OF THE BUSINESSES IN THAT COMMUNITY.
AND WHEN THEY DECIDED THAT RACISM WAS NOT GOOD FOR BUSINESS,
AND THE WORD WENT DOWN FROM FIVE MAJOR BANKS THE NEWSPAPERS
PICKED IT UP, THE SMALL BUSINESSES PICKED IT UP, TAXIDRIVERS
PICKED IT UP, WORKERS PICKED IT UP. THEY DECIDED THAT
PREJUDICE COST TOO MUCH. AND THEY PUT UP FOUR MILLION DOLLARS
TO DEVELOP A PUBLIC RELATIONS CAMPAIGN FOR OUR CITY, A CITY
TOO BUSY TO HATE. AND SINCE THAT DAY IN EARLY 1970, THEY'VE
BEEN A CITY BUSY MAKING MONEY. THEY ARE TOO BUSY TO HATE, THEY
DON'T HAVE TIME. EVERYBODY'S ENJOYING THE PROSPERITY OF THE
MARKET SYSTEM.

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AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMCONSUL DURBAN
AMCONSUL CAPETOWN

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15. BUT IT WASN'T ALWAYS THAT EASY. IN BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA, THERE WAS AN INTRANSIGENT GOVERNMENT. A VERY VIOLENT SITUATION IN WHICH IN A SIX-MONTH TIME THERE WERE 50 BOMBINGS OF BLACK HOMES AND CHURCHES AND BUSINESSES. NOBODY WAS ARRESTED, NOBODY CONDEMNED. AND THE SITUATION WAS SO TOTALLY OUT OF HAND THAT ONLY A MASSIVE NON-VIOLENT PROTEST BY THE BLACK COMMUNITY MADE THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY AWARE OF ITS RESPONSIBILITIES. FOR AN IMPORTANT PART OF THAT RESPONSIBILITY WAS THE BLACK COMMUNITY DECIDING THAT THINGS WERE SO BAD THAT THEY WOULD NOT COOPERATE WITH THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM ANYMORE. SO FOR ALMOST SIX MONTHS THEY DIDN'T BUY ANYTHING BUT FOOD AND MEDICINE.

16. DURING THAT PERIOD WE ALSO HAD THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE IN JAIL. AND THE GOVERNMENT, EVEN UNDER A VERY LIBERAL PRESIDENT, JOHN KENNEDY, SAID TO US THERE WAS NOTHING THAT HE COULD DO. THE SUPREME COURT HELD OUR CASES FROM 1963 AND DIDN'T DECIDE ON THEM UNTIL 1967, SO THEY WERE REALLY OF NO HELP. AND THEN THEY DECIDED TO PUT US BACK IN JAIL
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FOR SEVEN DAYS JUST FOR KICKS. IT WAS ALL OVER BY THEN.

17. BUT THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES REFUSED TO RESPOND, EXCEPT TO CALL US COMMUNISTS. THE MAJOR NEWSPAPERS ATTACKED US FOR STIRRING UP TROUBLE. I WAS TALKING WITH MY SOVIET COLLEAGUE AT THE UNITED NATIONS NOT LONG AGO AND HE WAS VERY DISTURBED ABOUT THE WHOLE HUMAN RIGHTS EMPHASIS. AND THE IMPLICATION WAS THAT THIS WAS A SORT OF A CAPITALIST CONSPIRACY. AND I SAID I HOPE YOU DON'T DO WHAT OUR COUNTRY DID. I SAID WE HAD ALMOST 5000 FBI AGENTS TRYING TO PROVE THAT OUR MOVEMENT WAS COMMUNIST. AND ALL THEY DID FOR TEN YEARS WAS FOLLOW US AROUND, TRYING TO MAKE SOME CONNECTION BETWEEN BLACK ASPIRATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES AND MOSCOW.

I SAID YOU KNOW WE DIDN'T NEED MOSCOW TO TELL US WE NEEDED TO BE FREE. I SAID AND PEOPLE IN MOSCOW DON'T NEED WASHINGTON TO TELL THEM THAT THEY NEED TO BE FREE. THAT THERE IS SOMETHING IN THE VERY NATURE AND DESTINY OF MAN THAT CRIES OUT FOR FREEDOM.

18. BUT IN THE MIDST OF THAT SITUATION ONE OF THE THINGS THAT HAPPENED WAS THAT MARTIN LUTHER KING AND I HAD LUNCH ONE DAY WITH TWO PRESIDENTS OF CORPORATIONS THAT WERE THE MAJOR EMPLOYERS IN BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA. AND I DON'T EVEN REMEMBER WHAT WE TALKED ABOUT. BUT WE DISCUSSED THE SITUATION IN DETAIL VERY QUIETLY AND ANSWERED THEIR QUESTIONS. FOLLOWING THAT MEETING THE MANAGERS OF THOSE PLANTS WERE CHANGED, POLICIES WERE CHANGED. WITHIN A WEEK'S TIME WE HAD A COMMITTEE OF 100 BUSINESSMEN IN THAT CITY. AND THOSE 100 BUSINESSMEN NEGOTIATED THE END OF APARTHEID IN BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA, IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT ON THE BOOKS OF LAW IT WAS STILL ILLEGAL TO DESEGREGATE ANYTHING. BUT IN THEIR OWN BUSINESS INTERESTS AND IN THE INTEREST OF THE FUTURE OF THAT COMMUNITY, A COMMITTEE OF 100 BEGAN TO LEAD THAT CITY, NOT ONLY FROM RADIAL HATRED BUT INTO A KIND OF PROSPERITY THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN IMPOSSIBLE OTHERWISE.

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19. AND THERE SEEMS TO BE SOMETHING ABOUT THE FREE MARKET SYSTEM THAT MEANS THAT YOU DON'T HAVE TO TAKE FROM THE RICH TO GIVE TO THE POOR. THAT WHEN YOU TAKE IN MORE CONSUMERS INTO THE SYSTEM YOU EXPAND THE MARKETS, YOU EXPAND THE PROFITS, YOU CREATE MORE JOBS. AND THAT EXPANSION OF MARKET POTENTIAL CREATED THE KIND OF GROWTH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA THAT TRANSFORMED OUR SOUTHLAND FROM AN IMPROVERISHED REGION TO A REGION THAT LITERALLY DOMINATES BOTH THE POLITICS AND THE ECONOMY OF OUR NATION RIGHT NOW. NOW I KNOW SOUTH AFRICA IS DIFFERENT. NONE OF THAT WILL WORK HERE. BUT I JUST PASS IT ON BECAUSE MR OPPENHEIMER INVITED ME. SINCE THIS IS A BETTER DINNER THAN I USUALLY GET I'VE GOT TO DO SOMETHING TO EARN MY SUPPER. BUT ALREADY THE CAPE TOWN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE CALLED ON ITS MEMBERS FOR A NO-DISCRIMINATION PLEDGE, ALREADY COMMITTEES OF AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN AND BANKERS ARE MEETING REGULARLY IN SMALL PRIVATE GROUPS TO DISCUSS THE IMPLICATIONS OF THEIR INVOLVEMENT HERE IN THIS NATION. AND I WOULD CONTEND THAT THE MARKET POTENTIAL OF BLACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA IS FAR GREATER THAN THE MARKET POTENTIAL OF BLACKS EVER WAS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. FOR YOU'RE NOT TALKING JUST ABOUT THE 16 MILLION BLACK CITIZENS HERE. YOU'RE TALKING ESSENTIALLY ABOUT THE SOUTHERN HALF OF THE CONTINENT THAT IS A POTENTIAL MARKET FOR A SYSTEM WHICH COULD RELATE TO IT AS BROTHERS. BUT ONE WOULD JUDGE THE BROTHERHOOD NOT BY WHAT IS SAID IN IVORY COAST OR

IN ZAMBIA, BUT BY WHAT IS DONE WITH ONE'S BROTHERS NEXT DOOR.
AND YET SOMEHOW THAT POWER DOES NOT SEEM TO BE UTILIZED AT
THIS STATE IN SOUTH AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT.

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AMOCNSUL DURBAN 1345

AMCONSUL CAPETOWN

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20. IN FACT IT ALMOST SEEMS AS THOUGH THE GOVERNMENT PLAN IS
WORKING EXACTLY AGAINST THAT EMPHASIS. FOR I HEAR MORE AND
MORE, OF MONEY THAT IS BEING SPENT ON DEFENSE, AND THAT WAS
ONE OF THE THINGS THAT CAUSED THE MOST SERIOUS DISLOCATIONS
IN OUR COUNTRY. THE RIOTS OF THE LATE 60'S WERE NOT A RESULT
OF THE AGITATION OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT AT ALL. THEY
WERE THE RESULT OF THE FRUSTRATIONS OF PEOPLE IN CITIES WHO
HAD NO JOBS, AND WHO FOUND THE MONEY OF THEIR GOVERNMENT
BEING SPENT IN VIET NAM. AND THE EXHORBITANT MILITARY BUDGET
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA HAS BEEN THE MOST SERIOUS
OBSTACLE WE HAVE FACED FOR DEVELOPMENT AND PROBLEM SOLVING IN
OUR CITIES.

21. I THINK OUR ECONOMY MAY BE A BIT STRONGER THAN YOURS AND
SO I WOULD RESPECTFULLY RAISE QUESTIONS OF THE VALUE OF
SPENDING MONEY ON A MASSIVE SYSTEM OF DEFENSE WHEN THERE'S
NO MORE ARMY WITHIN 2000 MILES TO CHALLENGE WHAT YOU ALREADY
HAVE AND WHAT IS THE VALUE OF AN ATOMIC BOMB WHEN THERE IS
NOBODY TO DROP IT ON? THAT SOMEHOW THE BATTLE THAT SOUTH
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AFRICA FACES IS NOT IN FACT A MILITARY BATTLE AT ALL AND WILL NEVER BE A MILITARY BATTLE. THE BATTLE IS, IN FACT, AN ECONOMIC BATTLE. AND IT'S A BATTLE WHICH RESULTS IN A SENSE OUT OF A COMPETITION BETWEEN SYSTEMS. IF WE WOULD BELIEVE IN A FREE MARKET SYSTEM AS THE BEST MEANS OF PRODUCING CHANGE OF A REVOLUTIONARY NATURE THROUGHOUT THIS WORLD AND ESPECIALLY ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT, IT WOULD SEEM THAT ALL CITIZENS HAVE TO BE INCLUDED IN THAT CHANGE, AND IN THAT FREE MARKET SYSTEM. AND IF IN FACT THEY ARE LOCKED OUT OF THAT SYSTEM, THEY HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO CHOOSE ALTERNATIVE SYSTEMS. AND SO I WOULD HOPE THAT IN ADDITION TO THE THINKING ABOUT DAY BY DAY ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND THE PROFIT MARGIN OF THIS QUARTERLY REPORT THAT THERE WOULD ALSO BE SOME LONG RANGE THINKING. NOT TO FIGHT TO THE DEATH, BUT TO SHARE THE LIFE AND ABUNDANCE THAT HAS BEEN PRODUCED BY WESTERN TECHNOLOGY IN THIS NATION.

22. AND I SAY ONE WORD OF A RATHER MORAL NATURE, AND I DIDN'T WANT TO MORALIZE, BUT I'M A PREACHER SO FORGIVE ME. I'M TRYING TO TALK ABOUT ECONOMIC REALITIES, BUT ONE OF THE THINGS WE ALL HAVE TO FACE IN SPITE OF OUR LEVEL OF PROSPERITY AND EDUCATION AND CULTURAL WHAT HAVE WE, IS THAT THERE IS A SENSE IN WHICH IT'S AN ACCIDENT OF BIRTH. THAT BUT FOR THE GRACE OF GOD ANY OF US MIGHT HAVE BEEN BORN POOR IN SOWETO, AND WE HAVE NO CHOICE IN THAT. ANY MY OPPORTUNITY TO BE BORN IN A RELATIVE SECURE FAMILY IN THE UNITED STATES, ALWAYS ACCOMPANIED WITH IT, ADMONITIONS FROM MY GRANDMOTHER WHICH I SHARE WITH YOU FROM THE BIBLE "TO THEM TO WHOM MUCH HAS BEEN GIVEN, OF THEM WILL MUCH BE REQUIRED."

23. AND SO MY POINT IS THAT THE ECONOMIC REALITIES OF AFRICA AND THE MORAL ENLIGHTENED THE SELF-INTEREST. AND I DON'T THINK WE HAVE MUCH CHOICE, BECAUSE THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE REST OF AFRICA IS SO RAPIDLY OUTSTRIPPING WHAT'S HAPPENING HERE. AND IT HAS A LOT MORE TO DO WITH RESOURCES, AND THE WEALTH OF THIS NATION HAPPENS TO DO WITH RESOURCES.

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24. BUT NOW THE VOLUME OF TRADE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND NIGERIA ALONE IS ABOUT 5.5 BILLION WITH THE VOLUME OF TRADE BETWEEN BRITAIN AND NIGERIA. THE VOLUME OF TRADE BETWEEN FRANCE AND NIGERIA HAS SURPASSED THE VOLUME OF TRADE BETWEEN FRANCE AND SOUTH AFRICA. THE VOLUME OF TRADE BETWEEN WEST GERMANY AND NIGERIA HAS SURPASSED THE VOLUME OF TRADE BETWEEN WEST GERMANY AND SOUTH AFRICA. THAT

THE ECONOMIC REALITIES OF THIS CONTINENT ARE MUCH MORE THE
ENEMY OF YOUR SYSTEM THAN ANYTHING THAT IS GOING ON INTERNALLY
OR EXTERNALLY OF A MILITARY NATURE. TIME IS MOVING ON. AND
IN A SENSE IN THIS KIND OF STRUGGLE TIME IS THE ENEMY.

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25. I WOULD THINK THAT THERE IS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR CHANGE.
AND THAT CHANGE CAN COME THROUGH THE MARKETPLACE. AND IT CAN
BE NON VIOLENT, PRODUCTIVE, AND HUMANE. BUT IT CAN'T BE THAT
WAY BE ACCIDENT. THERE'S GOT TO BE SOME DELIBERATE INTENT TO
RESPOND TO THE CHALLENGE THAT'S FACED BY HISTORY, THAT'S
BROUGHT ON BY HISTORY TO US IN THIS NATION. AND I WOULD
THINK THAT THAT CHALLENGE IS TO DRAW A MAJORITY OF YOUR OWN
CITIZENS INTO THE MARKET SYSTEM THAT YOU ENJOY AND ADVOCATE.
THAT'S KIND OF WHAT HAPPENED TO US. WHEN BLACKS BECAME A
PART OF THE FREE MARKET SYSTEM IN THE SOUTH, NOT ONLY DID THAT
SYSTEM EXPLODE, BUT BLACKS HAD VERY MUCH A STAKE IN IT. AND
WHEN YOU'VE GOT A STAKE IN A SOCIETY YOU DON'T VOTE TO CHANGE
IT, OUTLAW IT, OR OVERTHROW IT. AND YET IN GIVING BLACKS A
STAKE IN THAT SOCIETY THE TRAGIC IRONY IN SOME WAYS IS THAT
NOTHING WAS TAKEN FROM THE WHITES BUT THE INCOME GAP BETWEEN
WHITES AND BLACKS ACTUALLY EXPANDED. BUT BLACKS WERE SO MUCH
BETTER OFF THAN THEY EVER THOUGHT THAT THEY WOULD BE OR COULD
BE. THEY WERE SO INVOLVED AND THERE DID SEEM TO BE AN OPENNESS
WITHIN THAT SYSTEM TO ADVANCE ECONOMICALLY AND THEN POLITICALLY.
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26. FOR I CONTEND THAT THE ECONOMIC ADVANCE CAME FIRST AND THE POLITICAL REALITY FOLLOWED. I TAKE FOR GRANTED THAT FULL PARTICIPATION IN THE DECISION MAKING IN THIS DAY'S WORLD IS SOMETHING THAT CAN'T BE AVOIDED. IT'S NOT SOMETHING TO BE DEBATED. THERE IS A KIND OF INEVITABILITY ABOUT IT. THE QUESTION IS WHEN FULL PARTICIPATION COMES, IS THERE A MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION THAT HAS A STAKE IN THE SYSTEM THAT WILL VOTE AND WORK TO PRESERVE THAT SYSTEM, TO DEVELOP IT, AND TO CONTINUE ITS GROWTH AND EXPANSION. I DON'T KNOW WHETHER IT CAN BE DONE OR NOT. BUT I REFUSE TO SAY WHAT CAN'T BE DONE. SO MUCH AS HAPPENED IN MY LIFETIME THAT I NEVER THOUGHT POSSIBLE, THAT I JUST DON'T BELIEVE THAT THERE'S ANYTHING THAT IS IMPOSSIBLE. AND I DON'T BELIEVE THAT IT'S IMPOSSIBLE FOR SOUTH AFRICA TO SURVIVE. AND I DON'T BELIEVE IT'S IMPOSSIBLE FOR 22 MILLION CITIZENS TO SHARE IN THE WEALTH AND RICHNESS OF THIS LAND. I DON'T BELIEVE IT'S IMPOSSIBLE FOR THIS INDUSTRIAL EMPIRE TO ONE DAY FEED AND CLOTHE ALL OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.

27. AND YET TIME DOES RUN ON. THE REALITIES OF POWER, NOT MILITARY POWER, NOT POLITICAL POWER, BUT ECONOMIC POWER. THE REALITIES OF RESOURCE POLITICS ARE SUCH THAT NOT MUCH LONGER WILL US BUSINESS HAUL THE ORES OUT OF ZAIRE, ZAMBIA AND ANGOLA AND TAKE THEM ALL THE WAY BACK TO THE UNITED STATES TO REFINES THEM, USING OIL THAT WILL COST \$15-20 A BARREL, WHEN THERE'S POWER HERE AT THE INGA DAM OR THE CUNENE DAM OR THE CABORA BASSA DAM OR DAMS YET TO BE BUILT FROM THE TREMENDOUS HYDROELECTRIC RESOURCES IN THAT MIDDLE BELT OF AFRICA. THAT INEVITABLY CORPORATE INVESTMENT IS GOING TO FLOCK TO SOME OF THOSE VERY PLACES THAT ARE NOW HIGHLY CONTROVERSIAL. AND WITH THAT CORPORATE INVESTMENT, THERE WILL BE A STRENGTHENING OF THAT PART OF THE CONTINENT THAT HAS NOW BEEN IGNORED, THAT WILL BE QUITE A CHALLENGE ONE WAY OR ANOTHER TO THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA. BUT THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA HAS ALMOST A HUNDRED-YEAR HEAD START. AND EVEN SHITE SUPREMACISTS OUGHT UNCLASSIFIED

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TO BELIEVE THAT WITH A HUNDRED-YEAR HEAD START, THEY CAN SURVIVE.

28. GOD BLESS YOU. END QUOTE.KIRBY

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